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# ***JPRS Report***

# **Arms Control**

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# Arms Control

JPRS-TAC-88-040

## CONTENTS

26 OCTOBER 1988

### CHINA

London Institute Cited on Strategic Armaments .....	1
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### EAST EUROPE

#### INTRABLOC

Grosz's Talks With Pact Officers Described [Budapest 6 Oct] .....	2
Delegate Predicts Future of MBFR Talks [I. Melicharcik; Prague RUDE PRAVO 7 Oct] .....	2
Bloc Military Exercises Take Place .....	3
USSR-GDR Training [East Berlin ADN 10 Oct] .....	3
USSR-Hungarian Exercise [Budapest 15 Oct] .....	3
Honecker, MPR's Batmonh View Disarmament [East Berlin ADN 10 Oct] .....	3
FRG's Genscher Interviewed on Disarmament, Peace [H-D Genscher; East Berlin DER MORGEN 12 Oct] .....	4
Observers Attend Hungarian-Soviet Exercise [Budapest MTI 17 Oct] .....	4

#### BULGARIA

Zhivkov Receives USSR Defense Minister Yazov .....	5
--	---

### SOVIET UNION

Disarmament Will Not Defuse Threat From Capitalist Aggression [V. Chernyshev; AGITATOR No 4, Feb] .....	6
Inspectors in FRG for Launcher Destruction .....	9
Elimination of U.S. Missiles Set in Arizona .....	9
Missile Destruction Begins .....	9
Destruction Continues .....	9
Destruction of Missiles in Arizona Described .....	10
Pershing-2 Launchers Destroyed in FRG .....	11
TV Reports Destruction of U.S. Missiles .....	11

### WEST EUROPE

#### FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Pershing-2 Equipment Destruction Begins .....	12
SPD Urges Kohl To Take Disarmament Steps in USSR .....	12

#### ITALY

Andreotti on Arms Control .....	12
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**London Institute Cited on Strategic Armaments**  
*OW1810083688 Beijing XINHUA in English*  
0732 GMT 18 Oct 88

["Superpowers Continue To Modernize Nuclear Weapons"—XINHUA headline]

[Text] London, October 18 (XINHUA)—The United States and the Soviet Union continued to modernize their strategic nuclear weapons and increase their nuclear arsenals by about six percent in the past year.

In its annual report, "The Military Balance," to be published Wednesday [19 October], the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) said that the U.S. now has 39 MX Peacemaker ICBM (inter-continental ballistic missiles) deployed in modified Minuteman silos and the full deployment of 50 missiles is expected to be completed by the end of 1988.

The report said that Washington's next stage of the modernization process will concentrate on the rail-based deployment of the MX. Sea trials for the first Ohio SSBN (nuclear-fuelled ballistic-missile submarines) deployed with Trident D-5 missiles were due to start in September this year, while D-5 missile test flights are reported to be successful.

The B-1B bomber delivery is now complete, with a force of 74 operational aircraft and a reserve of 25, and the re-equipment of B-52 bombers to carry ALCM (air-launched cruise missiles) continued, with a further 14 modified to give a total of 158 ALCM-capable aircraft.

The report pointed out that the Soviet Union's SLBM (submarine-launched ballistic missiles) have increased by 11 as a result of changes in its SSBN fleet.

Meanwhile, Soviet production of Backfire bombers continued, and an additional 10 aircraft have joined the inventory, it said. The Soviets have also produced 10 Blackjack bombers, the latest Soviet bomber, which may already be entering operational service.

The report indicated that there have been significant developments in the deployment of SLBM (sea-launched ballistic missiles). But how these should be limited and how any such limitations could be verified are two of the outstanding questions in the START (Strategic Arms Reduction Talks) negotiations between the two superpowers.

The U.S. continued to deploy nuclear-armed Tomahawk SLCM (TLAM-N) in both newly commissioned and modified ships, while the Soviet Union has completed testing the 3,000-km-range SS-N-21 SLCM and deployed these missiles on one Yankee-class SSGN (nuclear-fuelled submarines with dedicated non-ballistic missile launchers) and in six other nuclear-powered submarines.

Another Soviet SLCM, the SS-NX-24, is undergoing trials in a Yankee-class submarine, the report said.

"The net effect of the year's developments in strategic nuclear forces, judged by the SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty) counting rules used hitherto, is that U.S. warhead numbers have increased by 764 to 14,637 and Soviet warheads by 650 to 11,694," the report said.

"Overall," it went on, "despite differences in composition and total counts, we continue to judge that U.S. and Soviet strategic nuclear forces remain in rough parity."

The report pointed out that the two superpowers have over the past year also continued to modernize their conventional forces.

On the overall world situation, the IISS report noted a number of promising developments which have taken place both in the field of East-West relations and in several areas of regional conflict, including the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, the on-going withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, and the cease-fire between Iraq and Iran.

However, it said that no fundamental change has occurred in terms of the NATO-Warsaw pact force posture, with basic asymmetries remaining intact. "Equally, conflict continues to exist or to threaten in many areas of the Third World," it warned.

Asked whether the world has become a safer place, IISS Director Francois Heisbourg told a London press conference Monday: "If one looks at regional conflicts and regional crises, one would hesitate to answer yes."

"If one looks at the central balance between the East and the West, ... we have not had serious consideration being given to superpower nuclear confrontation. Now does this make the world a safer place? That is for each one of us to answer."

"Is the world a less tense place? I think the answer would be yes," he said.

## INTRABLOC

### Grosz's Talks With Pact Officers Described

*LD071004388 Budapest Domestic Service  
in Hungarian 2100 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Text] Karoly Grosz, party general secretary and premier, received members of the Warsaw Pact's Military Council, who held a session in Budapest. Istvan Kulcsar interviewed Gyula Turner, staff member of the party's Central Committee.

[Begin recording] [Turner] One of the aims of the visit was to inform high-ranking military leaders of the socialist countries about our country's life. You have no doubt observed that the international press is writing quite a lot about Hungary. My impression is that our friends, partners, and allies are not accurately informed about one or two events. It was important that they should now see and understand our intentions more clearly.

[Kulcsar] So Karoly Grosz tried to dispel these potential doubts?

[Turner] He tried to dispel them, and on the basis of the nearly hour-and-a-half meeting I think we are justified to claim that the military leaders have understood our ideas and our intentions. They understand better that our country is in a difficult economic situation. They understand that very resolute steps are needed in order to either modernize the uneconomic enterprises or liquidate them. They understand our endeavor to occupy a more determined and clearer place in the international division of labor.

They also showed understanding toward the ideas which unfortunately had to be stated at this forum as well. Our party's general secretary informed the military leaders that we were having to realize our political and economic efforts in conditions in which for the foreseeable future we must also anticipate a fall in living standards. This factor must be taken into account in our military expenditures and in the development of our army as well.

[Kulcsar] Did they show understanding toward this?

[Turner] They naturally examined these processes from the soldiers' point of view, and drew the final conclusion that these measures created good conditions for the fulfilling of the tasks facing the Hungarian People's Army. They showed understanding toward our economic problems and highly appraised the efforts we are exerting to surmount them.

[Kulcsar] Did the military leaders ask any questions? What were they interested in?

[Turner] In their questions and the interest they expressed, the military leaders were primarily concerned with the question of whether we shall succeed in preserving and consolidating socialist society, and whether we

shall succeed in further developing the new things that have been manifested in the movements of recent times. They welcomed the fact, and I would add that they were greatly preoccupied by this, that in the question of the preservation of people's power and democracy there is unity in the Hungarian party and the Hungarian leadership, and that it is the steadfast intention of our leadership to guarantee the country's stability and internal order by political means.

### Delegate Predicts Future of MBFR Talks

*AU1110215588 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech  
7 Oct p 7*

[Report by CTK correspondent Ivan Melicharcik: "Support for the East-West Dialogue"]

[Text]Vienna—What is already the 46th round of talks on mutual reduction of the numbers of armed forces and armaments in central Europe is being held in the Austrian capital. This represents 15 years of roundtable, diplomatic, military-political talks in Vienna's Hofburg.

In an interview with a CTK correspondent, the head of the Czechoslovak delegation, Ambassador Ludek Handl, elaborated on the current state and prospects of that forum.

In the first place, I would like to mention that the last composite proposals at the Vienna talks were submitted by the NATO states in December 1985, and by the socialist states in February 1986. Despite the fact that since then the two sides have been negotiating the conclusion of at least a partial agreement, which would constitute the withdrawal of the relatively small contingent of USSR and U.S. ground forces from central Europe, which should then be followed by a 3-year freeze on the equipment and troops of the two countries in that sphere, there has been no success in arriving at an agreement.

The Warsaw Pact states believe that a balanced solution for issues with a material content and verification issues is necessary and possible. However, everything attests to the fact that there will be no success in bridging these differences in the positions of the two sides at this disarmament forum.

It is understandable that the fact that no concrete agreements have been achieved causes dissatisfaction, Ambassador Handl said further. Despite the fact that this forum still serves to support the general dialogue between East and West and is still the sole qualified forum in the sphere of conventional disarmament, it is exhausting its possibilities. The possibility of making expedient use of the talks for an exchange of expert views on some conceptual questions on the process of conventional disarmament, which have and will have geographically wider and, in terms of time, longer validity, comes to the fore in this situation. The socialist countries are using this phase of the Vienna talks for a detailed

examination of initiatives or documents, such as the declaration of the Warsaw Pact member states on the talks on reducing the numbers of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe; the initiative of Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, on the establishment of a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states; the plan to limit armaments and strengthen trust in central Europe; and so forth.

The head of the Czechoslovak delegation further said that in June 1986, on the initiative of the Warsaw Pact states, a question was put forward about the possibility of discussing and resolving the problem of conventional weapons within the Europe-wide framework from the Atlantic to the Urals.

At the Budapest session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee the socialist states formulated a program for reducing the armed forces and conventional equipment in Europe, which they submitted to the European states, the United States, and Canada. On this basis, the consultations of the 16 NATO states and the seven Warsaw Pact states on the mandate of the new negotiations on conventional disarmament in Europe within a broader geographical framework, which would be attended by all states of the two groupings, were later opened in Vienna. The work on the mandate is nearing its end with the prospect of opening a new forum to resolve the problem of the conventional potential in Europe. It is logical that the new talks will inevitably also include the central European region, about which we have negotiated with a limited number of NATO members until now. Should there not be success in achieving a fundamental change in the situation at the Vienna talks by then and in concluding at least a partial agreement, it will be necessary to solve the issue of concluding them and passing the relay baton on to a new, broader forum, Ambassador L. Handl said.

### **Bloc Military Exercises Take Place**

#### **USSR-GDR Training**

*LD1010132888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1231 GMT 10 Oct 88*

[Text] Berlin, 10 Oct (ADN)—A joint troop exercise by the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany [GSFG] and the GDR's National People's Army will take place as planned from 17 to 23 October in the Wittstock, Gardelagan, Magdeburg, Zehdenick, and Feldberg areas. A total of up to 17,700 members from the two fraternal armies will take part in it. It will be led by a commander from an army of the GSFG.

The aim of the exercise is to perfect training in carrying out defensive actions as well as practice cooperation between the troops.

In accordance with the annual report on military activities for 1988, it has been announced to all signatory states of the Stockholm Document on confidence and security building measures and disarmament in Europe.

Observers from these countries have been invited by the GDR Government.

#### **USSR-Hungarian Exercise**

*LD1510123288 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 15 Oct 88*

[Text] A Hungarian-Soviet joint military exercise is under way north of Balaton. The exercise is led by Lieutenant-General Yuriy Vodolazov, first deputy commander of the Soviet Southern Army Group temporarily stationed in our country.

#### **Honecker, MPR's Batmonh View Disarmament**

*LD1010194188 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1806 GMT 10 Oct 88*

[Text] Berlin [No dateline as received] (ADN)—Today in Berlin Erich Honecker and Jambyn Batmonh reaffirmed their conviction that it is not only necessary but also possible to replace international confrontation with cooperation. During a detailed exchange of views on the international situation in the presence of other leading GDR and MPR figures, the general secretaries of the SED and the MPRP emphasized that it is now a matter of finally banishing the danger of the destruction of mankind. They stated their determination to persistently and consistently continue the policy of dialogue for peace and disarmament at both the regional and global levels. In this connection they expressed their unconditional support for the latest proposals for increasing security in the Asia-Pacific region submitted by Mikhail Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk.

Erich Honecker explained the initiatives for the creation of a nuclear weapons-free corridor, a zone free of chemical weapons, and a zone of trust and security in central Europe. He praised Mongolia's peace initiatives, especially those in the interest of regional security in Asia.

Jambyn Batmonh stated the full support of his country for the GDR's active peace policy and explained in greater detail Mongolia's contribution to security and peace in Asia, including its proposal for the creation of a mechanism excluding violence in relations between the states of the Asia-Pacific region.

Touching on bilateral relations, the two statesmen noted with satisfaction that friendship and fraternal cooperation were developing and deepening on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Erich Honecker and Jambyn Batmonh paid particular attention to the economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the two countries. They said there should be a move toward further efficiency in cooperation between the two countries in the areas of agriculture, the food industry, geology, ore mining, and light industry.



**FRG's Genscher Interviewed on Disarmament, Peace**  
*AU1310155788 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German*  
12 Oct 88 p 2

[Interview with FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher by Christoph Funke, deputy chief editor of DER MORGEN, during the 39th Regular FDP Congress in Wiesbaden on 7 and 8 October: "Desire for Peace"]

[Text]Funke: A motion of the FDP Federal Presidium to the 39th Regular FDP Congress has formulated the declaration to "continue the successful peace and disarmament policy of making secure steps and of taking the responsibility for the future." What are the opportunities provided by this declaration to the FRG foreign minister and which obligations does it entail for him?

Genscher: The motion of the Federal Presidium reflects the long-standing continuity and predictability of liberal values with regard to safeguarding peace. Now it is important not only to use the new way of thinking in West-East relations for further disarmament steps but to work for a fundamental change that will lead from the reduction of confrontation to broad cooperation and to the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act in all fields. We want a European peace, in which states with different political and social systems live together in peaceful competition. A European peace or this common European home is to be founded on the observance of human rights; this common European home is to be a house with open doors and open windows for the free movement of people, ideas, and goods.

Funke: The same motion contains one of the concepts you have often mentioned, namely, to replace "non-war by deterrence" with "peace, achieved by cooperation and detente." The motion says that "our political thinking has to be determined by the goal to make wars not only less terrible but unwageable." Which concrete steps, do you think, will be taken in the near future in order to make this "liberal foreign and security policy," as the motion calls it and which is considerably influenced by you, effective in political reality?

Genscher: The central problem of military security on our continent is the establishment of conventional stability in Europe. It is our goal to eliminate superiority and imbalances in the conventional field through asymmetric disarmament and to work toward a condition in Europe, where none of the sides has the capability to stage a surprise attack on foreign territory or large-scale offensives, something which is already true for the West. Now it is necessary to make every effort at the Vienna negotiations to achieve a balanced final document by the end of October 1988 and to adopt a mandate for negotiations on conventional stability for all of Europe by the end of the year.

Our concepts on disarmament policy also contain a 50-percent reduction of strategic weapons, the speedy conclusion of a comprehensive, worldwide agreement on

the ban of chemical weapons, and negotiations on Soviet and U.S. shorter-range nuclear missiles, as proposed by the Western alliance in Reykjavik in 1987.

In addition, however, we need new structures of military security. The net of deterrence through nuclear and conventional means—the net of ultima ratio—must be covered by an additional net, which reduces the risks resulting from exclusively relying on military deterrence. Specifically, what is needed is the establishment of reliable cooperative security structures and the elimination of the reasons for tension and distrust.

Funke: Which possibilities do you see for the further shaping of sensible relations between the two German states as an important stabilizing element of the situation in Europe and international development in general?

Genscher: The people in the two German states also have a deep desire for peace. This gives us strength to take up our common responsibility for the survival of mankind in a world awash with nuclear weapons. Despite their ideological differences, both German states are making important contributions to understanding, comprehension, and cooperation, so as to establish a European peace from the Atlantic to the Urals in line with the CSCE Helsinki Final Act. Both German states participate in the common responsibility for the future of the German nation and for peace in Europe.

Funke: The relations between the FDP and the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, which have been continuously expanded since 1973, are an important element of such a sensible relationship between the two German states. What are your concepts about the further cooperation between the two parties, which is to serve peace and mutual understanding?

Genscher: Both parties can make an important contribution to dialogue and cooperation between the two German states.

**Observers Attend Hungarian-Soviet Exercise**  
*LD1710195588 Budapest MTI in English*  
1832 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 17 (MTI)—A joint Hungarian-Soviet military exercise which started in Hungary on Saturday is being attended by foreign military observers who were notified 42 days ago through diplomatic channels.

Two observers each from Austria, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Romania, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, and Yugoslavia, are inspecting the military manoeuvres which involve at least 17,000 troops, under an opportunity provided by the document accepted at the Stockholm conference on military confidence- and security-building in 1986.

This is the first time since the approval of the Stockholm document that a military exercise has been attended by foreign observers in Hungary.

On Monday afternoon, the observers were greeted by Brigadier General Laszlo Fazekas, deputy chief-of-staff of the Hungarian People's Army, at the army cultural centre in Budapest. After the welcoming ceremony, the high-ranking officers representing 18 countries left for the scene of the exercise.

### BULGARIA

**Zhivkov Receives USSR Defense Minister Yazov**  
*AU1110134788 Sofia BTA in English*  
*1302 GMT 11 Oct 88*

[Text]Sofia, October 11 (BTA)—Mr. Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, received Army General Dmitriy Yazov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of

the CPSU and USSR's minister of defence, and the officials accompanying him, who are on an official friendly visit to this country.

They discussed questions of the development and strengthening of the friendship and cooperation between the Armed Forces of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union in the conditions of the restructuring underway in the two countries. The two sides reiterated the readiness of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union to continue to work actively for deepening of the positive tendencies in international relations, for peace, detente and disarmament.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1000 GMT on 11 October carries a shorter report on the meeting between Todor Zhivkov and Army General Dmitriy Yazov, and adds: "The meeting was attended by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, and (name indistinct), USSR charge d'affaires in Bulgaria."]

**Disarmament Will Not Defuse Threat  
From Capitalist Aggression**

18010324 Moscow AGITATOR in Russian  
No 4, Feb 88 pp 45-48

[Article by Candidate of Technical Sciences Vladimir Chernyshev: "Capitalism Without Militarism?"]

[Text] *In a speech dedicated to the 70th anniversary of Great October, Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, reflecting on the prospects for the formation of an all-encompassing system of international security under conditions of disarmament, poses difficult questions on which the future of civilization depends. Can capitalism adapt to the conditions of a nuclear-free and disarmed world? In the current phase of world development, at a new level of mutual dependency and the integral nature of the world, is an influence possible on imperialism that would block the most dangerous manifestations of it? Can the range of destructive action of the egocentric and narrow class features of the capitalist system be limited? Can capitalism function and develop economically without militarism?*

It seems to me that a positive answer to these questions is hardly realistic. The nature of imperialism does not change—it was and remains aggressive and militaristic. Moreover, too many forces in the West have a vested interest in the arms race: the monopolies producing the arms, the generals, the state bureaucracy, the ideological apparatus and militarized science, all combined in the powerful military-industrial complex. Or am I incorrect?—N. Plisko (Moscow).

Unfortunately, there are grounds for pessimistic forecasts, and many of them. In recent decades the militarization of capitalist society has increased steadily, and militarism is being turned more and more into a destructive force developing according to its own intrinsic logic and its own intrinsic laws and, moreover, dictating this logic and these laws to mankind. The military-industrial complex has acquired a certain independence in the West, and it has sometimes even come out with some success against the broader and more long-term interests of the ruling class overall.

The situation does not look insoluble nonetheless.

**One.** Notwithstanding its reactionary nature, adherence to the "policy of force," reliance on military ways of achieving military and political aims and egotistical approach to world politics, imperialism can react to changing objective circumstances. A clear example of this is the coalition between the United States, England and many other capitalist states and the Soviet Union against German fascism and Japanese militarism in World War II.

"Whereas in the past an alliance of socialist and capitalist states was possible in the face of the fascist threat," declared Comrade M.S. Gorbachev in the speech

"October and Restructuring: The Revolution Continues," "is there really any certain lesson that follows from this for the present, when the whole world has come to be faced with the threat of nuclear catastrophe and the necessity of ensuring the security of nuclear power and surmounting the ecological danger? All of these are completely real and terrible things requiring not only an awareness of them, but a search for practical solutions as well."

Another fact is the changing nature of the struggle among the imperialist powers for the economic and political division and partitioning of the world. This struggle is manifested in our time in different forms than it was at the beginning of the century: wars among the leading capitalist states are highly unlikely. The lessons of the last world war and, most important, the fear of weakening oneself before the other social system—socialism—are playing a decisive role herein. The resolution of inter-imperialist contradictions has today been transformed into harsh technological and economic competition.

An awareness is also growing in the West of the fact that capitalism had to pay a high price with major social upheavals for the world wars it unleashed. After the first, revolutionary processes were rapidly developed and the socialist revolution triumphed in Russia. World War II demonstrated even more clearly the crisis of the very institution of war as an instrument of policy. Conceived as a "crusade" against the Soviet state, this war ultimately led to the popular and worldwide historical movement against fascism and its total defeat, while in a number of countries popular-democratic revolutions were successful and the collapse of the colonial empires accelerated.

**Second.** Antagonism towards socialism doubtless remains one of the defining traits of the policies of imperialism. The fight against the new order has been conditioned first and foremost by the capitalist instinct of self-preservation. Under contemporary conditions, however, when an effort to destroy socialism militarily would inevitably entail the destruction of capitalist society, the self-preservation instinct takes on new substance.

The total force of the munitions exploded during World War II is roughly equal to 2.5 million tons of TNT. The power of the first American atomic bomb that incinerated Hiroshima was 13,000 tons. Today the power of the 50,000 nuclear warheads in the arsenals of the countries on the planet is equivalent to 13 billion tons of TNT. This is 5,200 World War IIs and a million Hiroshimas. Scientists have calculated that just one twentieth of the nuclear arsenals of the two great powers is sufficient to inflict irreparable harm on each other. And taking into account the fires that would arise after the explosions, less than one percent of the accumulated nuclear arms would be required for the "guaranteed annihilation" of any large major country. But this cuts both ways. Anyone



who resolves to launch a first strike would doom himself to a tortuous death, and not just from an answering strike, but from the consequences of detonating one's own warheads. The spread of radiation and the impact of "nuclear winter" would completely destroy life on Earth.

Wars fought using conventional weapons are also unacceptable for certain regions. For example, in Europe, highly developed on a technological plane and with a large quantity of nuclear power plants, chemical plants, reserves of petroleum products, buried toxic wastes and the like, even a "conventional" war would be totally destructive and ruinous for every living thing.

This means that if a head-on (or even regional) clash of capitalism and socialism is fraught with catastrophe, the self-preservation instinct should operate against militarism: contemporary war is just as destructive overall for the bourgeoisie as for other classes of society, and it is just as suicidal for capitalism as for socialism. It is for that reason that many leaders of the capitalist world are beginning to realize that super-armament is not identical to security, and already a significant portion of the bourgeoisie is beginning to consider peaceful co-existence as an essential condition for the physical survival of capitalism and its historical fate.

A clash itself with the real possibility of self-destruction cannot help but foster growth in the capitalist countries in intra-political differentiation on issues of war and peace and the arms race. This relates to the ruling circles as well, where there have appeared, and probably will strengthen, realistically thinking forces and, perhaps, the proportionate share of militarist subsegments will decline in the process of devising foreign-policy solutions.

**Three.** The arms race does not meet the interests of the greater portion of the ruling class today from an economic viewpoint. It is only enriching an inconsiderable and narrow group of monopoly capital. The overwhelming majority of corporations either receive just insignificant crumbs of the military profits or remain outside the "military economy" altogether.

In the United States, for example, the Pentagon's military orders are filled by 20,000 major contractor companies and 100,000 subcontractor firms. There are roughly 14 million firms in the country overall (not including agricultural production). Consequently, less than one percent of the overall number of companies works for the Defense Department. Just a small number of gigantic specialized corporations that comprise the foundation of the military-industrial complex, however, play a leading role among them. Some 65-70 percent of the annual overall value of Pentagon orders has fallen to their share in recent decades, including about 50 percent to the largest and up to 35 percent to the first ten.

Many people have become involved in the military sphere, but not an overwhelming portion of the able-bodied population. Some 2.1 million people were working directly in military industry and one million were employed in various types of services for the military sector in the United States in 1981. Aside from this, three million Americans were in actual military service or were working under voluntary hire. The overall size of the workforce in the United States that year was 110.3 million people. This means that just 5.4 percent of the aggregate workforce of the country was "fed" directly from the militarist "fields." The overwhelming majority of the workers had no objective vested interest in the arms race.

**Four.** An ever larger portion of the ruling class of the capitalist countries is beginning to realize the negative consequences for itself of militarization—a rise in inflation and budget deficits, reductions in economic growth and the number of jobs, declines in production efficiency etc.

Take, for example, the United States. From 1946 through 1986 inclusive, its total military spending has been 3.4 trillion dollars, and moreover in the six years of the Reagan administration it has reached 1.5 trillion. First and foremost due to this factor, the rate of economic growth in the United States in the 1980s has proven to be somewhat lower (an average of 2.5 percent a year) than in the 1960s (4.3) and even in the 1970s (3.1), earlier felt to be the worst over the whole postwar period. Labor productivity—one of the most important indicators typifying the vitality of economic systems—grew an average of just 0.7 percent in 1980-84 and 0.3 in 1985-86, while, for example, this indicator was 3.2 percent in 1960-64.

The competitiveness of American industrial goods in the international market has declined sharply, and the U.S. trade deficit for 1981-86 was about 600 billion dollars. Distinctive "records" have been set by the Reagan administration in the realm of budget deficits—it jumped from 58.5 billion dollars in 1981 to 221 billion in 1987—as well as the realm of national debt, which has surpassed 2.3 trillion dollars. Whence it is clear how potentially explosive the situation is. The serious disorder of state finances and the whole credit and monetary system overall, strengthening considerably the instability of American capitalism and weakening its international economic positions, is evident.

If such economic policies continue to be brought to life, alarmed American economists warn, by the year 2000 the national debt of the United States will reach 13 trillion dollars, while interest payments on it alone will total 1.5 trillion dollars.

**Five.** History shows that a capitalist economy can develop without militarization. The minimal military spending in a number of Western states after World War

II has allowed them to achieve rapid economic development. Data on the economy of the "three centers"—the United States, Western Europe and Japan—is instructive in this regard.

At the same time as the United States has continuously expanded the arms race, diverting ever greater funding to it, the Western European states and Japan have rehabilitated their economies while simultaneously accomplishing their reconstruction. They put relatively large amounts of budget allocations at the time into financing capital investment in the civil-production sector, the creation of modern industrial capacity, raising product market competitiveness etc. All of this also predetermined their higher economic growth rates. Whereas the average annual growth rate of production was 4.5 percent in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s, for example, it reached 7 percent in West Germany and Italy and even 14 percent in Japan.

The differing levels of militarization of the economies had an effect on the rapid change in the correlation of economic forces. Whereas the United States' share of aggregate industrial production was 64.5 percent in 1948, by 1970 it had declined to 49.6 percent. The share of Western Europe grew from 34.1 to 39.3 percent over this period, and Japan's went from 1.4 to 11.1 percent.

The militarization of the economy narrows the investment base for the development of the civil sectors, and the interests of the monopolies clash first and foremost with those sectors in world markets. The withdrawal of ever greater material, financial and labor resources for military purposes cannot help but be a drag on the normal development of the economies of the capitalist states. And this is beginning to alarm a large portion of the ruling class in the United States more and more strongly.

All of the above testifies to the obvious trend of a steady narrowing of the social base of militarism and that war, the arms race and the unrestrained militarization of the economy have ceased to meet the overall class interests of the bourgeoisie. This has made it possible to pose the question of the possible reversibility of the militarization of the economy even in those capitalist countries where it has been seriously developed. The problem of converting military production into civilian is naturally not at all a simple one, but evidently a realistic solution could be found.

The overall change in world public opinion in favor of disarmament has exceedingly great significance in this process. Contemporary capitalism will not reject militarism voluntarily. Economic and political realities, the fight of broad public circles for peace and disarmament and the constructive policies of the socialist countries, however, could push it that way.

Definite shifts have been noted. An historic agreement to eliminate two classes of missiles—medium- and short-range—was concluded at the Soviet-American summit. Also attracting attention is another instance. For the first time in recent years, the U.S. Secretary of Defense, F. Carlucci, was ordered to reduce the projected fiscal 1989 military budget that had already been prepared by his predecessor, C. Weinberger, by 33 billion dollars. According to his orders, the Navy should decrease spending by almost 12 billion dollars, the Air Force by 10.5 and the Army by 9. The MX and Midgetman missile programs, new aircraft carriers and new combat helicopters are proposed for reduction or elimination. All of this is still just planning, but it is symptomatic in its own way.

Nonetheless the leading capitalist countries, including the United States, are still far from the demilitarization of their policies. The continuation of the U.S. "Star Wars" program, the results of which are proposed for utilization not only for the militarization of space and its reinforcement with space nuclear weapons, but also for the creation of fundamentally new prototypes of conventional weapons, represents a particular danger.

The leading circles of NATO, and first and foremost Great Britain and France, in no way wish to perceive the idea of the complete destruction of nuclear weapons, and they are continuing to improve their own nuclear arsenals. The leadership of those countries, as well as the NATO generals, are considering plans for the nuclear "up-arming" of Western Europe after the elimination of American medium- and short-range missiles.

A communique was adopted at the December 1987 session of the NATO Council in which its participants came out in favor of an activation of collaboration between the Atlantic partners in the cause of incarnating extensive programs for the creation and deployment of more efficient types of "classical weaponry." Washington advanced a so-called "balanced technological initiative," which envisages the joint development of new types of conventional weapons by the Western countries. The U.S. administration is trying to draw both the Western European NATO countries and Japan into participating in this program.

The U.S. concept of "air-ground battle" and the NATO concept of "second-echelon strikes" (the Rogers plan) rely on the creation and utilization of new types of non-nuclear weapons with qualitatively increased destructive potential approaching the features of low-powered nuclear weapons. The Rogers plan directly assumes the surprise unleashing of combat action in concert by the ground forces, air forces and navies using all of the latest types of armed struggle at great depth for the purpose of inflicting the maximum damage to enemy troops and achieving an overwhelming superiority over him along with a decisive offensive to seize his territory.

And this concept has not only not been abrogated at NATO, but is rather being materially reinforced more and more in the form of the arms and means of armed struggle that are coming in.

The old manner of thinking is nonetheless quite alive, and the most reactionary and militarist circles in the United States, Western Europe and Japan have no intention of renouncing it. There is an extremely serious struggle ahead with the opponents of disarmament and with those who do not conceive of peace without mountains of arms or without the opportunity of obtaining profits from the arms race, who dream of dictating their will to other countries and peoples. The world is still just at the beginning of the path to demilitarization.

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12821

### **Inspectors in FRG for Launcher Destruction**

*LD1710164988 Moscow TASS in English  
1625 GMT 17 Oct 88*

[Text] Bonn October 17 TASS—A group of ten Soviet inspectors arrived in Frankfurt on the Main today to attend the destruction of launchers for U.S. Pershing-2 missiles, which begins October 18 in keeping with the Soviet-American INF Treaty.

DPA news agency reported, quoting the U.S. command, that the destruction procedures will take place at the Pershing-2 maintenance center in Hausen, a Frankfurt suburb.

The launchers, each weighing more than 10.5 tons, will be cut into parts by dint of special gas burners and electric saws and sent to remelting as scrap metal to Hanau, West Germany.

All together, 114 launchers are to be destroyed. The Pershing-2 missiles themselves will be eliminated in U.S. territory.

### **Elimination of U.S. Missiles Set in Arizona**

#### **Missile Destruction Begins**

*LD1810092088 Moscow TASS in English  
0807 GMT 18 Oct 88*

[Text] Tucson, Arizona, October 18 TASS—TASS special correspondent Vladimir Matyash reports:

The process of eliminating U.S. land-based cruise missiles (LBCM) begins at the U.S. Air Force base of Davis Monthan, Arizona, today in accordance with the Soviet-US INF Treaty.

Captain Mark Beseech, a spokesman for the press relations department of the Davis Monthan Air Force Base, has said in an interview with the TASS correspondent that seven missiles and seven launchers out of 41 missiles stationed there will be destroyed on Tuesday and Wednesday.

A group of Soviet military inspectors have been invited to attend the elimination of the missiles the maximum range of which is 2,500 km. Present on the American side will be representatives of the U.S. Department of Defence and the On-Site Inspections Agency headed by its director, Brigadier General Roland Lajoie, and the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

A memorandum for the press circulated by the U.S. Department of Defence points out that the process of eliminating U.S. LBCM's will be continued in future as well.

The U.S. LBCM's, which are identical to the sea-launched cruise missiles known as Tomahawk, are batch produced at the plants of American military corporations, the General Dynamics in San Diego, California, and the McDonnell Douglas in Titusville, Florida.

The LBCM's are intended for use by the U.S. Air Force in Europe. In all, the U.S. Air Force had purchased 597 such missiles. The Pentagon data have it that about 300 nuclear warheads for them had been made as of December last year on an order placed by the U.S. Department of Energy which is in charge of the production of nuclear weapons. Two hundred and fifty-six LBCM's with 64 launchers are stationed at U.S. and NATO bases in West Germany, Britain, Belgium, and Italy. Another 21 launchers are stationed at Davis Monthan Base, Arizona.

Analysts are of the opinion that the beginning of the process of elimination of American LBCMs under the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty signifies an important step on the way to real nuclear disarmament.

#### **Destruction Continues**

*LD1810213588 Moscow TASS in English  
2103 GMT 18 Oct 88*

[Text] Washington October 19 TASS—The destruction of U.S. ground-launched cruise missiles was started at Davis-Monthan Air Force Base in Arizona Tuesday.

The missiles are being destroyed under the Soviet-American Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty.

Pentagon spokesman Dan Howard said the destruction would continue for 48 hours on end.

The missiles' bodies are being cut lengthwise with special saws.

A group of Soviet experts is watching the elimination of the missiles and launchers.

### **Destruction of Missiles in Arizona Described**

*LD1910144788 Moscow TASS in English  
1310 GMT 19 Oct 88*

[Text] Tucson, Arizona, October 19 TASS—TASS special correspondent Vladimir Matyash reports:

The top-secret Air Force Base Davis Monthan in Arizona on Tuesday witnessed an unconventional event when the destruction of American land-based cruise missiles (LBCM) began there.

The intermediate-range missiles with a yield of up to 200 kilotons and a range of up to 2,500 km are being destroyed under the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty which was signed in Washington in December last year during the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting.

Forty one LBCM's and seven launchers are to be destroyed at the Davis Monthan base. A group of Soviet military inspectors have been invited to watch the destruction of American LBCM's.

Two Army buses with journalists drew up to the checkpoint of the base. A remark made by the press relations officer accompanying us to the effect that there was a Soviet journalist among the correspondents left the patrolman unperturbed. The buses were followed up by mobile vans of major U.S. television networks and of the British Broadcasting Corporation. The cameramen were hurrying to film the goings-on.

The first two LBCM's and one launcher were placed on a massive concrete ground at noon under the scorching sun of Arizona. Missile destruction is effected by a special unit of the U.S. Army. High-powered diamond and plasma cutters divided the missile body into two parts, separating the vanes and tail from the LBCM body. Then the missile head, without a nuclear explosive device and elements of the guidance system, were sawed. The launcher canister was cut into two, and an Army truck tractor hauled the pile of metal away. Soviet military inspectors scrutinised the remains. "Done", said one of them. There was applause from the bleachers with the representatives of the U.S. Department of Defense and the On-Site Inspection Agency, and with journalists.

Yet another specific step towards the elimination of two classes of the nuclear weapons of the Soviet Union and the United States has been made.

Brigadier General Roland Lajoie, leader of the American inspection group, had recently visited the Soviet Union to attend INF missile destruction operations.

In an interview with the TASS correspondent he said: "We have now witnessed a truly historic event. The destruction of the newest nuclear weapon systems of the two countries signifies a major landmark in American-Soviet relations. The United States and the Soviet Union are taking unprecedented steps of late for a transition from confrontation to peaceful cooperation. This reflects the growth of mutual trust between them. The destruction of the missiles is the result of the conclusion of the INF Treaty. The implementation of the treaty provisions will lead to broader contacts and, I hope, greater trust between the United States and the Soviet Union."

Mr. Lajoie said the destruction of the newest American and Soviet nuclear weapons became a usual occurrence. Besides, on-site inspections broadened contacts between the military of the two countries and made American-Soviet relations more predictable.

This is really a historic event, agreed Navy Commander Kendall Pease. Military inspectors are being given access to facilities which were previously held secret in the United States and the Soviet Union. The nuclear weapon elimination process is gathering momentum.

"The INF Treaty signed by the leaders of our two countries has entered a new phase of its practical implementation," said Vladimir Medvedev, the leader of the group of Soviet military inspectors. "The document became a manifestation of the new political thinking and opened up a new sphere in our relationships—the sphere of on-site military inspections. This is a historic precedent. We are deeply convinced that it is better to exchange numerous inspection groups than nuclear strikes."

"We have covered the huge distance to attend the destruction of American missiles", the Soviet representative went on to say. "The verification of real measures to reduce arms under the INF Treaty makes it possible to shorten the huge distances between Moscow and Washington, between Ulan Ude and San Francisco. There are experienced specialists among our group. The inspections have made it possible to establish good businesslike relations between the military and experts of the two countries. All this signifies successful headway along the lines of implementation of the INF Treaty".

"In the Soviet Union", Vladimir Medvedev went on to say, "there are no land-based cruise missiles any longer. The small number of them were destroyed in the presence of American inspectors".

In a talk to the TASS correspondent American military experts and journalists pointed out that the INF Treaty, apart from everything else, signifies the overcoming of psychological barrier in relations between the two nuclear powers. The American-Soviet INF Treaty, objectively leading to the building of confidence between them and to greater strategic stability, they said, presages



the attainment of a qualitatively different level of cooperation in tackling major global problems, of which the preservation of peace and modern civilisation, and the survival of humanity are undoubtedly the main ones.

### **Pershing-2 Launchers Destroyed in FRG**

*LD2010133388 Moscow TASS in English  
1337 GMT 20 Oct 88*

[Text] Frankfurt-am-Main October 20 TASS—By TASS correspondents Lev Volnukhin and Gennadiy Kulbitskiy

In line with the Soviet-American INF Treaty, destruction of the first batch of launchers of Pershing-2 rockets, U.S. nuclear intermediate-range missiles, was conducted here for two days. This work was carried out at a point of elimination which was specially equipped at a U.S. centre for repairs and servicing of Pershing-2 and Pershing-1A missiles in Hausen, a suburb of Frankfurt-am-Main.

The process of destruction which took place in the presence of 10 Soviet inspectors, included disassembly of missile launchers and subsequent cutting of their parts with plasma torches, dist-type cutters and electric saws.

All in all, nine launchers were eliminated from among missile systems deployed in the area of Heilbronn (Baden-Wuerttemberg state). Missiles, a component part of them, were shipped to the United States for destruction.

Actions by activists of the West Germany peace movement were held near the gate to the centre. They bore the following slogans: "West German peace movement also strictly controls progress of realization of the INF Treaty", "We shall not permit any attempts to torpedo the treaty". A leaflet circulated by the Hessen organization of the German Alliance for Peace, points out that

the elimination of missile launchers and nuclear rockets proves that disarmament is possible. Peace advocates should do their utmost to make this process irreversible. At the same time, it points out further on, reports that NATO entertains plans of "compensation" for the Soviet-American INF Treaty by replacing eliminated nuclear missiles with new ones, cannot but evoke a concern.

Today a group of Soviet inspectors who observed the destruction of the first batch of missile launchers, departed from Frankfurt-am-Main for Moscow.

### **TV Reports Destruction of U.S. Missiles**

*LD2110041988 Moscow Television Service in Russian  
1530 GMT 20 Oct 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] As we have already reported, the destruction of American land-based missiles has started at the U.S. Davis Monthan Air Force Base in Arizona.

[Correspondent V. Zvyagin] There is a total of 443 cruise missiles at the base, and over the past 72 hours, 41 missiles and 7 launchers have been destroyed. The work appears simple, but the American specialists spent several months preparing for it.

First special cutters are used to separate the upper and lower parts of the missile, and then it is cut in half and its innards destroyed. The Soviet inspectors attending the destruction subsequently certified that all the operations have been performed. As correspondents were told by General Medvedev, head of the Soviet group, the Soviet side has already destroyed some 280 missiles in accordance with the treaty. The work at the base in Arizona will be continued and, as the local papers put it, the Russian proverb "Trust, but check," which has become so popular here, is already being read in a new way: "Check, so as to trust."



## FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

### Pershing-2 Equipment Destruction Begins

LD1910085188 Hamburg DPA in German  
0830 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Excerpt] Frankfurt, (DPA)—This morning the destruction of the first transporters and launchers for the Pershing-2 missiles based in the Federal Republic began at the U.S. base at Frankfurt-Hausen. The 10,600 kg semi-trailers including the hydraulic lifting equipment and the electronic components were cut up using special cutting torches, with 10 Soviet inspectors observing. In toto, all 114 launchers based in the Federal Republic are to be rendered unusable at Frankfurt-Hausen. [passage omitted]

### SPD Urges Kohl To Take Disarmament Steps in USSR

LD2010102288 Hamburg DPA in German  
0918 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Bonn (DPA)—The SPD has called on Chancellor Helmut Kohl to strive during his Moscow visit next week for concrete disarmament steps and to reject counterrarming. "The Moscow trip by the chancellor is long overdue. We welcome the fact that it is now taking place", SPD Chairman and Parliamentary Group Chairman Hans-Jochen Vogel said in Bonn today. The trip would show whether the chancellor had accepted the Ostpolitik developed by the SPD only verbally or whether he also accepted its substance. The SPD would measure the result of the visit by this.

"Should the trip really become a milestone in our relations with the Soviet Union, as the chancellor and his spokesmen repeatedly assure the public, then there must be movement in Moscow on the major questions of peace and disarmament policy", Vogel said. More must emerge than the signing of the announced agreements on cooperation in space, environmental protection, and

cultural exchanges or progress in economic cooperation. The chancellor must also try to put the term "common European house", used by Gorbachev, into concrete terms.

## ITALY

### Andreotti on Arms Control

AU1910083988 Rome ANSA in English  
0814 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Excerpt] (ANSA) Rome,—The end of hostilities in the Gulf, developments in the Middle East and relations between western Europe and the Soviet Bloc were discussed here Tuesday by Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti who told the Lower House Foreign Affairs Committee a breakthrough appeared imminent on the question of arms reduction in Europe.

Moving on to East-West issues, shortly after his return from Moscow where he accompanied Premier Ciriaco De Mita on a four-day visit, Andreotti said "progress in the sector of arms control requires different relations with the East."

He indicated the need to move quickly in negotiations aimed at banning the production, stockpiling and deployment of chemical weapons and, on conventional forces, he cited the importance of progress to date "in that we are on the eve of the definition of negotiation terms for achieving a new balance and a reduction of these arms in Europe. We firmly hope that these negotiations can be concluded within the year and we met with Soviet consensus when we reiterated this in Moscow."

The Minister said that the restructuring of armaments in Europe presupposes "that the balance of forces will always be maintained as a guarantee of our security. The decision of the Italian Government to accept the transfer to Italian territory of the F-16 aircraft now deployed in Spain corresponds to this requirement," he said with reference to the U.S. Forces fighter wing evicted from its base in Spain.

He also said it was "comforting that, parallel to these developments at the East-West level, the role of the European Community has been strengthened."

10

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